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History is Simply the Sum Total of Changes in the Powers of Production.

CORRESPONDENTS TAKE NOTICE.

The growth of THE HERALD's circulation makes it necessary for us to go to press earlier than we have heretofore, in order to insure the delivery of papers at the remotest points from the office of publication before Sunday. Beginning, therefore, with next week's issue, THE HERALD will be printed every Tuesday.

Correspondents are requested to note this change and also to mail their communications accordingly. All correspondence intended for publication must reach Belleville a week ahead of date of publication.

It is reported from Cleveland, O., that the discovery has been made that "Harry Omar," a well known pacing horse voted in one of the precincts at the republican primaries last week. Good thing, plenty of jackasses have voted long enough to benefit the fellows who "ride" them; give the decent horses a chance.

Such accounts of the great public interest manifested in the lectures of Comrade Deb's as we publish this week, will give cheer and courage to the workers all over the land. From Ann Arbor University throughout the tour of Michigan, to Erie and Springfield, he has met with a series of popular ovations; all classes of people turning out to hear him, except injunction judges, capitalists and Wise Mike.

The attorney general of Ohio wanted the testimony of a large number of employees of the Standard Oil company in that state in a case against the company. The managers of the monopoly—being "God fearing" and "law abiding" citizens—persuaded the men to leave the state and a big batch of them turned up the other day at Parkersburg, W. Va., where their expenses are being paid by the holy trust.

Carey is serene and quite able to bear philosophically the "law's delay" and the impertinence of small bore republican politicians, but make a note of the littleness of the state legislature of Massachusetts that turned down his resolution for an investigation in the Marlboro strike, because a Socialist proposed it, and a few days afterwards adopted the very course he had suggested, when proposed in a resolution emanating from a republican member!

A member of Co. E, First Missouri Volunteer Infantry, who was with his regiment at Camp Thomas and contended with typhoid fever and Algerism, writes a pathetic letter to a St. Louis daily newspaper, in which he says:

"Now the dark clouds of war have vanished and the boys are mustered out of the service, and there are many in this great city of St. Louis unemployed and have been all winter, some having wives and little ones to care for. Will some St. Louis men of influence please assist us to find employment?"

Tell the Filipinos that this is a "big" nation and point them to the "big" battle of Oregon. But don't tell them that in "big" New York city, with its two million residents, one million and eight hundred thousand live in rented houses and don't own a square foot of land. Don't tell them that in this "big" nation the average wealth per family for all the families is \$5,125, but that one-half the families—the working half—own an average of only about \$130. If you tell them these things, they will want to know what "bigness" counts for.

The grandest work of reconstruction that any people ever engaged in, will be the reconstruction of a nation plundered and exploited by the capitalistic class, into a social democracy with capital used solely as a factor in the production of wealth; instead of as now, an instrument of exploitation and extortion. In that grand work many of us will take part, for the great combinations of capital are being effected with marvelous rapidity, the war of extermination against the middle class with small means is progressing with merciless exactness, and at the rate things are now going, the American people will have made their choice between Capitalism and Socialism within ten years.

A young man writes a daily paper to say though he has tried hard to find employment, there seems to be no chance anywhere, and asks what he shall do. "Form a trust, young man, form a trust!" Have no capital? Oh! Then study Socialism and learn how it is possible for everybody to have capital.

Mark Hanna chuckles! The Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate made a report clearing him of bribery charges made against him by the legislature of his own State. That is to say, a committee composed of a half a dozen men of his own class, have declared him innocent, but millions of people believe him guilty—including the legislature of Ohio.

Some weeks ago a brief extract from an address by Dr. H. A. Gibbs at Worcester, Mass., was printed in THE HERALD, the intention being to publish the address entire, but pressure on our space at that time prevented. This week it is given in full on the second page. It is a clear and able paper and well worth reading. Having read it, both members and subscribers will be pleased to know that Comrade Gibbs has consented to contribute occasionally to THE HERALD.

One of the common complaints of the well-to-do and kindly disposed is that the necessity for helping the poor tends to dissipate their fortunes or impair their own security. And no doubt that is very true.

It is equally true that unless the kindly disposed people lend a hand in the establishment of a better system, the present will reduce all, except the beneficiaries of the great trusts, to beggary. What we want, and Socialism will give us, is a system that by robbing none will insure plenty to all.

The thirty-dollars-a-month day and night slaves of the Western Union Telegraph outfit are going to have a rude awakening before long. "Bank G—enius!" Prof. Rowland of Johns Hopkins University has invented a new method of telegraphy, by which half the operators may be thrown out of work, and the whole of them can be dispensed with if the owners of the machines conclude that they don't want them around. The machine, resembling a typewriter, was fitted to the ends of a wire equal in resistance to one 1500 miles long, and as the message was written on the machine it travelled and was electrically and accurately recorded at the other end, no receiving operator being necessary. Anybody who can run a typewriter can telegraph. Say, Wise Mike, does this suggest anything to you?

Comrade Mayor Chase said in one of his speeches recently: "Human nature in Haverhill has not changed to any appreciable extent so far as I can discover." Neither is it at all necessary that human nature should be changed, as some moralists pretend to believe, in order to make Socialism successful. Of course we all know as a matter of fact that human nature has changed and continues to do so. It was the human nature of some of our ancestors to do all sorts of diabolical things that few of us now have a mind to. But the human nature of our time, as we find it in city and country, released from the burden of depravity and injustice which private capitalism imposes upon it, and given a chance in a Socialistic society, will show marvelous adaptability to its superior environments. Human nature, Mr. Moralizer, is not wrong so much as it is wronged.

American Trade is, as the name would indicate, a journal published in the interest of the employing and exploiting class. It is published at Philadelphia. In an editorial notice of the recent annual convention at Cincinnati of the national association of manufacturers, it says "upon no point was there any serious difference of opinion; the proceedings throughout were marked by the utmost harmony," and it assures us this "has been characteristic of the association throughout its career." Certainly, one would expect the "utmost harmony" in a body of class conscious business men, whose interests are one, viz., the employment of labor at the lowest living wage and the exaction of the largest profit the people can pay. A thorough understanding of their class interests is characteristic of American manufacturers.

Suppose that every man, woman and child in the country able and willing to work, really had a job with some capitalist employer, would that make the system moral and humane?

Is a system that "works" young children in loathsome mills and factories, at a period that should be sacred to education, moral?

Is a system that "works" old men and women, at a period that should be sacred to leisure and ease, moral?

It is the system we denounce, make no mistake about that. Down with the system, though every man had a chance to live under it, which millions have not.

The system is slavery!

If one man controlled the potentiality or reproductive force in a grain of wheat, he would have the power to decide whether you should eat bread or not, wouldn't he?

And you think it would be wrong for one man to hold such power over his fellows, don't you? But why? Because nature has preserved through all the ages that potential wealth engendered in the grain of wheat for mankind—for all men.

But don't you think it wrong, too, for a few men to control the potential wealth contained in a coal mine? Think of the awful suffering this winter caused by such control! The persistence of poverty and social degradation are traceable directly to private ownership of land and capital.

How many people there are who do not know that we are in the midst of the greatest revolution in history.

How few realize what a tremendous change is going on in the world through the divorce of the wealth-producing class from the means of gaining a livelihood.

How comparatively few understand that this "labor question" is far greater than our "Eastern question," our victory over Spain, our subjugation of the Filipinos, and all other questions that disturb the public mind.

But there is an irresistible economic necessity compelling the nation forward to better, or worse, conditions. Better, if the people see that there are only two alternatives before them: Socialism and Freedom for all; or Capitalism and Slavery for all.

Notwithstanding the speaker's politics, that speech of Congressman Johnson's in the House, in which the present administration was characterized as Pecksniffian, was a candid, courageous and thoroughly wholesome utterance. The congressman evidently thinks that the tongue is a thing made to tell the truth with, and he told it.

Yes, he told the truth! And for doing it, for giving Mr. McKinley the investiture of speech he deserves, for telling the truth about an operator in political stocks, Mr. Johnson is denounced by his party papers as a trickster, a plotter, a "copperhead," and so forth, all of which, if he understands what blunting out the truth means in these days of political Pecksniffs posing as divinely appointed statesmen, he must have expected and no doubt will endure with Christian fortitude.

We Social Democrats are revolutionists; no doubt about that. But so are the trust magnates.

There is a difference, however. Social Democrats want to make the people dissatisfied, but dissatisfied with what is wrong.

The trust magnates want to make the people satisfied that it is right for a few to control every avenue of getting a living.

We want to produce order in society, by organizing all industry on a democratic basis, through the socialization of the means of production and distribution.

They want to continue the operation of all industry on a plutocratic basis, hire slaves for a price equal to one-tenth of what slaves can produce, and absorb labor's surplus values though the laborer perishes.

We want to restore the means of life to the people, by socializing land and capital and we are "dangerous"—to those who have seized upon both.

They want to monopolize the natural and social opportunities of mankind by extending their ownership over the essential productive factors of civilization, and they are dangerous to the whole human race.

Yes, we are both revolutionary; ours is a revolution by peaceful agitation; theirs is a revolution by the seizure of government through bribery and corruption and the separation of the people from their tools of production, their social inheritance.

THE ROSTRUM.

Carey Meets in Debate a Prominent Individualist Anarchist at Boston and Survives.

Last Sunday we had another grand opportunity for propaganda for the Social Democratic party among people whom Socialists in Boston have never before been able to reach. Rev. B. Fay Mills has, this winter, been holding a series of Sunday afternoon meetings in the Forum, Parker Memorial, at which live questions were discussed by prominent men. It was in this series that a debate was arranged for last Sunday between Comrade James F. Carey and an individualist anarchist named Simpson on the question "Is the Collective Ownership of Land and Capital Right and Feasible?"

Between 800 and 900 people were present, including a goodly sprinkling of the following of Mr. Simpson, as evidenced by the applause, determined in character though slender in volume, which greeted him from time to time as he presented the negative side of the question. Mr. Simpson is a European, a man of learning, of wide experience and ability, and therefore no mean antagonist; but debate being Comrade Carey's own peculiar and native element, he captured the audience and won fresh laurels for himself and for the party he represented. As indeed why should he not? You have heard what the Haverhill storekeeper said about him last summer? No? Well, I must tell you.

A comrade from another city happened into a store in Haverhill, and, while waiting his turn to be served, overheard the proprietor discussing with a customer the stir that was being made by Socialists in general, and James F. Carey in particular, since he had got into the city council. Both were lamenting the fact, and the comrade, in the guise of a sympathetic outsider, said: "I wonder you let him go so far. Why don't some of you fellows get up and squelch him?" "Well, you see, it is just this way," admitted the storekeeper apologetically; "Carey is one of the brightest men in the State of Massachusetts, and besides that, he has all the argument on his side!" So perhaps it is not surprising that Mr. Simpson did not come out first best on this occasion.

Comrade Carey opened the debate with a half-hour speech, the logic of which was irresistible, and left his opponent lamenting that it was not the kind of speech he expected and was prepared to answer, though he did his best in the half-hour allotted to him in the negative. Then Comrade Carey had another ten minutes, in which he answered the anarchist's points to the immense satisfaction of the audience, and the anarchist rounded up with another ten minutes of criticism, and defiance of the "tyranny of the majority."

The audience, when Comrade Carey rose to speak, was a greeting from his friends; when he closed his ten-minute reply to the anarchist, it was an enthusiastic tribute from the whole audience.

Instead of boiling down the whole speech and giving you the substance of it, I prefer to give only a part, and give it substantially as he said it. We intend to have the whole speech published in pamphlet form shortly, and I promise you it will make good propaganda; and you will want to order some for distribution. He began as follows:

"In answer to the question 'Is the Collective Ownership of Land and Capital Right and Feasible,' I answer 'Yes,' as a Social Democrat; and in support of that affirmative answer I wish to call your attention briefly to certain facts in past and present economic conditions as illustrating the economic evolution. I shall speak only of conditions in this Republic, but do not therefore misunderstand me or imagine that I am not an International Socialist, aiming for the final goal of International Socialism."

"Time was, in this Republic, when the tools with which men procured the necessities of life for themselves and their families, were of such a character and of such form that in the main they were owned by every family. In every family in the Republic, in its early days, there were the spinning wheel and the hand loom and the simple tools with which the people then supplied their then simple needs. This is an historical fact. To-day, however, the tools of production are of such a character (CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT.)

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

True Socialism is Inherently and Fundamentally an Economic Problem—How Municipal Functions are Fast Merging into those of the Commonwealth.

BY H. A. GIBBS, M. D., WORCESTER, MASS.

MY attention was called a few days since to an article in the Boston *Globe* by Mayor Quincy of Boston under the head "Municipal Socialism." I shall quote from this article later on, for in many respects it is a remarkable document and states much truth.

It is hardly necessary for me to assure you, however, that his ideas of Socialism fall far short of the genuine article. Nowhere in them do we find any recognition of the fact that the process of social development which we call Socialism is radically and inherently an economic problem. The true Socialist believes this. It is the Alpha if not the Omega of his creed, and I venture nothing in saying that he will not be swerved from his high purpose by any prospect of a free public bath or free municipal soup.

The Socialist also recognizes the fact that between even the moderate Socialism of Mayor Quincy and the capitalistic system upon which it is grafted there is a radical and irreconcilable conflict; that there can be no such thing as municipal Socialism under a competitive system whose god is profit and whose motto is "Every man for himself, and dee'l take the hindermost."

He recognizes the fact that there can be no such thing as state Socialism or national Socialism until its tap-root strikes down to the very lowest strata of economic conditions and it draws its sustenance and strength from economic justice.

He recognizes the fact that there can be no such thing as Socialism until the products of labor are distributed on some other basis than that which prevails among swine;

in short, till the whole machinery of production and distribution of wealth is in the hands of the whole people. When this is accomplished such attempts as these of Mayor Quincy can never reach their full fruition. "No stream can rise above its source," and so long as our stream of municipal life finds its source in a capitalistic system, municipal Socialism can never rise to any great height.

I have said all this purely as a matter of self-defense. I hasten to assure you that there is no immediate danger that Josiah Quincy, the ardent expansionist, the heir to several generations of Boston's bluest blood, the wealthy promoter of various capitalistic schemes and the bosom friend of that great statesman who is now enjoying a period of "innocuous desuetude" amid the classic shades of Princeton's College, there is no immeditate danger that this man will become a radical Socialist. Whatever else we may think of Mayor Quincy, however, we must acknowledge that he is a long-headed and level-headed politician. He is a man who keeps his ear to the ground, and he has evidently heard something drop up in Haverhill. His ears have caught the rustling of the wind through the mulberry trees, and he is trimming his sails to catch the coming Socialistic breezes. Like Oakes Ames with his Credit Mobilier stock, he is planting his political seed "where it will do the most good."

In the symposium to which I have referred, Mayor Quincy draws a clear line of demarkation between state Socialism and municipal Socialism. The former he dismisses with the statement that "it frightens the great majority of the community and excites the apprehension of owners of property." To the latter, however, he gives his approval in the following words: "The time for raising objections to municipal Socialism upon grounds of logic or theory has passed by. Every great city has already gone so far in the direction of caring for the social interests of its people that the issue of principle can no

longer be raised, and the question becomes purely one of what is desirable and practicable in a given city at a given time." This line, however, between municipal functions and state functions as applied to social problems is purely imaginary in principle and is fast becoming obsolete in practice.

Boston's sewage problem shows the operation of the same law of social growth. For many years Dame Boston claimed the right to empty her slop pail where and how she pleased, but Dame Nature was several years older and much wiser. She set natural limitations which Dame Boston found it difficult to overcome. She found that she could secure the best results by co-operating with other cities, and a metropolitan sewage system is the result. Worcester is passing through something of the same process. The same social law which prevents me from emptying my slop-pail in my neighbor's back yard prevents Worcester from emptying her's in Millbury's back yard via the Blackstone river, and both places are finding out that it is not only a sanitary necessity, but an economic advantage to co-operate in this matter.

Boston has built up a magnificent school system whose crowning glory is her normal school for the training of her own teachers, but already a movement is on foot to remodel the school into a state institution. The same law of solidarity which has developed our public school from the district to the township system is now at work to still further consolidate by means of several towns united under one superintendent, and all under the supervision of a state board of education. It requires no great degree of foresight to see that the whole system must sooner or later pass from the function of a town or municipality to that of the commonwealth.

Boston has built up a public library which is the pride of the nation, but the same law which has created it has widened its operations and impelled the commonwealth to extend its aid to the smaller places till now out of 321 towns in the state only 18 are without a free public library.

The great battle of municipal Socialism just now centers around the various street franchises, but the electric road has already overlapped the bounds of municipality, and its control is fast becoming a state function and the time is not far distant when, if they are to be owned and operated by the people as a whole, it must be under the auspices of the state rather than the city.

The Socialist, therefore, views with perfect equanimity this expansion of municipal function into that of the commonwealth, so long as it proceeds along the orderly lines of social development. He sees in it the operation of a universal law which must outgrow its present manifestations just as truly as the present is the outgrowth of the past. If Mayor Quincy does not hurry up, before he is ready to accept state Socialism the commonwealth will have assumed those functions which he now points to as glowing examples of municipal Socialism, and all there will be left for Dame Boston to do will be to inspect her hucksters and to regulate her hurdy-gurdies.

In spite of the fact, however, that present municipal functions are fast becoming merged into those of the greater municipality, a commonwealth, there is the ever-present duty before us and it is possible even now for municipalities to

do much to alleviate the suffering from present economic conditions and to hasten the day when present economic wrongs can be righted. Let me here quote from the inaugural address of Hon. John C. Chase, the recently elected Social Democratic mayor of Haverhill. He says: "I believe that Socialism holds the key to American municipal problems. While it is not possible for any municipality to guarantee to its citizens all their economic rights, I believe that much can be accomplished in this direction and that every power which

the municipality possesses should be placed at the disposal of the people in the interest of civilization that mankind may progress to a grander and nobler life."

I shall not attempt in the limited space of this article to discuss at length any of the specific methods by which the municipality can accomplish these results. There are one or two, however, which deserve passing attention as much from their novelty as their feasibility. Foremost among them all I consider the employment of the unemployed upon works of public utility, as well as in some of the simpler co-operative industries, care being taken to select such projects as do not conflict with the employment of other wage workers. The ownership of all public utilities by the whole people and their expansion without profit to meet the public needs, will help greatly to solve this problem of the unemployed. Finally the furnishing of proper food and clothing to the pupils of our public schools, I consider of great importance. There is not an argument which can be urged in favor of educating our children at public expense which cannot be urged in favor of providing proper food and clothing for them. The absurdity of teaching physiology, hygiene and physical culture to a child whose back hardly sees sufficient clothing to cover its nakedness and whose stomach is a total stranger to a square meal ought to be apparent without argument. These things should be demanded not on a basis of charity, but rather of simple justice.

Finally, as Socialists, we would ever bear in mind that these things which for convenience sake we group under the head of municipal Socialism, are not an end, but only a means, and when time shall have lengthened our perspective we may discover that their greatest value was in their educative influence rather than their immediate results. At the best they are only palliatives of a system whose wrongs are so deeply entrenched that it is almost an open question sometimes whether it would not be wiser to let them go on piling up O- upon Pelion until they topple and fall of their own weight. There is some danger that under the seductive influences of these half-way municipal palliatives our high ideals may undergo a shrinking process. True Socialism can have no self-centered interests which are peculiar to any city or nation even. It knows no Ultima Thule. Its genius is as broad as the needs of all humanity.

For mankind are one in spirit and in instinct bears along Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame; To the gain or loss of one race, all the rest have equal claim."

Picked From THE Letter Pouch.

UNITY OF PURPOSE.

The road to wealth is not by hard work, but by bribery and cunning and gaining advantage over our fellow men. . . . The people must be firm and united for one purpose, and that purpose is Socialism.

CHARLES B. MALPAS.

ONE OF "THE CLOTH."

We read with great interest all that is published in THE HERALD, and, like others of our cloth and character, watch out to lend a hand. I trust you do not find your position too trying. With very best wishes.

REV. H. S. GENEVRA LAKE.

"KEEP SWEET" AND HAMMER AWAY.

I am much pleased with the paper and the spirit it manifests. Just "keep sweet" and keep hammering away and you are bound to come out on top. I wish you abundant success and will do what I can to bring it about.

H. A. GIBBS, M. D.

GOOD TEMPER IS A GREAT CHARM.

An individual member of a party may lose his temper and be excusable; but a Socialist party must keep its temper. Socialism must not be lost sight of by useless refutations of base attacks and the resolution of THE HERALD to "saw

wood and teach Socialism" is a good one.

CARL PANKOFF.

SLAVERY NEVER JUSTIFIED.

Socialists are very fond of saying that Socialism is an "Evolution" and was impossible till now. I claim that Socialism—that is, economical equality—was possible in all ages.

Slavery was no more justified among the ancient Romans, Greeks and Britons, than it is now. In no age should any man be economically superior to his fellowmen.

J. CONWAY.

STILL, POLITICS ARE SNEERED AT.

In Brockton, previous to the State election, we had a branch of 30 members. Our vote for the head of the ticket was 189. When the city election came around we had 60 members. We nominated candidates for mayor, aldermen and common councilmen as far as possible, and our candidate for mayor received 626 votes. Such an unexpected vote for a new party has set the voters of Brockton to thinking about Socialism, and our membership has been steadily increasing since. Were there to be an election to-morrow we would poll 1000 or more votes. Had we refrained from placing candidates in the field at the state and city elections any amount of literature and all the speeches in the brains of our most able orators would not have accomplished half as much.

ISAAC W. SKINNER.

BRIGHT LIVING AND EDUCATION.

Education has been a thing set aside by the rich for the rich, and too many reformers have an idea that individual improvement should not be indulged in by them until all can have the opportunity. But it should be remembered that "college bred" men are not always "improved," are often not an "improvement" over the farmer's son. I emphasize the importance of "individual improvement" and "right living," which is altogether another thing from "education." It has to do with health, vegetarianism, dress, propagation of the fittest, etc. Half of our crudeness as social beings, failures as workers, and nearly all of our wrangling at Socialistic meetings, are due to defective stomachs, weak backs, poor lungs and livers. The article you printed recently from the Vegetarian by Frederic Heath is on the right line and shows that vegetarianism is the proper stand for the Socialist to take. Meat eaters have been the conquerors of the world and for the work they had to do were the "fittest," but now we are beginning to talk peace and meat is not necessary as it intoxicates the mind to war, cruelty, coarseness and revenge. It is my opinion that Socialists as a whole need as much light turned on their lives as other people, and as they have the vision of a commonwealth peopled by truly civilized men and women, they should adopt the program of "individual improvement" and "right living."

R. H. C.

Take Up the White Man's Burden.

Written for THE HERALD.

YES, take up heavy burdens, And lay them down awhile, And ask yourself, in sorrow, If "I want" doth suffice. Is this fine raiment needed? These mansions, grand and high? Dost not the God of Nature say man shall surely die? And if the form must perish, Because it burdens bears, Why gather foolish treasures, And multiply the cares? Must silk be trailed for splendor, Or jewels flash and shine, Or feathers dance and flutter? Where flows the sparkling wine? Must woman weep in anguish, With shameless, painted face, Because her dwelling, modest, Stands in a modest place? Must man rush, brazen, brutal, To money changers' mart? With scorn for needful labor, And terror in his heart? Because perchance, his person may contact with slime? Whether man is delving, On grade-way down to crime? Oh, cease this ghoulish babbie For "princely" fare and place! Except it floweth smoothly To all, by heavenly grace. I care not what your creed is, Nor how your vote is cast, If you must have base folly To nail to Labor's mast. Our ship is heavily weighted, It dips the roaring sea; False pride has filled the canvas, And called it Liberty. I swear ye wear your garments Cut fair from mortal sin; Why not be plain and saintly, And let the good God in? Why not cast off the burdens, By making what we need? All hands together toiling, Dethroned the god of Greed, The white flag at the mast head, And Love the only creed! Olympia, Wash. —H. S. GENEVRA LAKE

CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM.

BY A SOCIALIST.

DOWN with Socialism! Down with the Socialists!"

Go slow, my dear friend.

To you, the word "Socialist" may have an obnoxious meaning. Your idea of Socialists and Socialism may be: "A lot of lazy, idle, thieving, ignorant fellows, who wish to deprive the industrious of their earnings and divide it among themselves."

After reading these lines you will admit this is a wrong idea. Before you condemn Socialism you ought to know what Socialism is. Webster is counted pretty good authority. "Socialism," Webster says, "is a theory that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the Social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed."

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

"What?" you exclaim, "is that Socialism? Why, I seldom ever take up a paper that does not denounce Socialism as something very wicked." Ah, my friend you will be easily deceived if you depend on prejudiced papers, or individuals for correct information concerning Socialism, who do not want order and harmony in our social relations, for fear their unholy profits might thereby be curtailed.

Socialists, then, are those who believe in an advocate this theory of greater order, precision and harmony. In their ranks are some of the most learned professors of several of the most renowned universities of the world; and the great body of Socialists are persons of intelligence, animated by a desire to secure the well-being of all. Socialism is a new order of industry, based upon justice and right, and not on force, fraud, superstition, or tradition. By knowing what Socialists say is wrong in our present social system, and learning how they propose to remedy these wrongs, we shall know who should be Socialists.

WHAT IS WRONG?

After a week's work you go home with hardly wages enough to keep body and soul together. If perchance, by denying yourself all the comforts and pleasures of life, you are enabled to lay by a little of your daily wages, a few weeks or months of enforced idleness will compel you to spend it. Thus you are doomed to be a mere hired laborer—a wage-slave—with but slight chance of bettering your condition; for under our present system, one without tools or the means of purchasing them must be a tool himself. This is wrong.

"Some become wealthy," you say. Granted. But this is so exceptional it proves the opposite to be the rule. You can count the rich men of your acquaintance—men from the ranks on the fingers of one hand; but the poor men of your acquaintance—try and count them on your fingers. Count the number who strive for success, but are rewarded by failure. Don't you see the chances are dead against you? Life is a lottery, in which you and I and all other wage-workers draw only blanks.

CAPITALISM A SYSTEM OF LOTTERY.
1. Our present method of distributing the results of labor is wrong, and through it the workers are deprived of a greater part of what they produce. For between the producer and the consumer stands an unnecessary army of middle-men and capitalists, intent on fleecing from honest labor everything possible, leaving only a bare subsistence. And they do it. Then should not those who produce all the good things of the world but never enjoy them, resolve to change our present unjust system of distribution, and become Socialists?

2. Our system of production is wrong. Everything is done in a haphazard way. Food, clothing—all we eat and wear—are produced in unequal production in the different trades.

WEED OUT THE NON-PRODUCERS.

Ten factories are erected with houses, superintendents, foremen, etc., to say nothing of the sinecure situations created for the relatives and friends of favored stockholders,

when two built correctly would produce better goods and more economically, and by weeding out the non-producers give the workers shorter hours and better wages. We may truly say that to our present system of production, order, precision and harmony are unknown. Now should not those who wish to see our present system of production supplanted by one of order and harmony, and yielding the greatest results at the least possible expense, be Socialists?

But there is another and greater wrong in our present social system. Under its workings a few are enabled, by accident of birth and the effect of unjust laws, to monopolize all the means of labor.

ROB THE PRODUCTS OF OTHERS.

Having the power, they deprive all the rest of a greater part of what they produce, thus keeping them in poverty, and consequently dependent on others. The workers are given but just enough to enable them to perform their allotted daily task (the rate of life regulating the rate of wages), and all surplus over and above this goes into the pockets of those who do not produce it, and therefore have no right to it.

So those who "want to divide," and do divide, are in the ranks of the monopolists. They divide the hard-earned products of the toilers among the idlers—themselves. Socialists do not wish to divide. They want to stop this dividing. They say: Give every man all he produces and allow no one to deprive others of any portion of their products.

THE FEW RICHER, THE MASSES POORER.

Our laws are now made and enforced only in the interests of these monopolizers of the means of labor. And their workings are such as to make the few rich by keeping the many poor. Poverty forces persons into ignorance and crime, narrowing the circle of usefulness and pleasure. Riches give the opportunity of acquiring intelligence and culture, opening a thousand channels of enjoyment unknown to the poor.

The monopoly of the means of labor is found more or less in every branch of industry. No trade is exempt. A comparative few accumulated, by legal piracy, large fortunes, which, being invested in labor-saving machinery, and other fixed capital, have enabled them to drive the individual labor capitalists to the wall, pressing them into the ranks of the wage-workers.

For the last century the fruits of invention have been absorbed by this class, and our government has been gradually coming under their control, until now legislation is but little better than a scheme to take from the laborer and give to the capitalist. Should not every one who wishes to right the wrongs of honest labor be a Socialist?

HOW THESE WRONGS ARE TO BE RIGHTED.

The first step in the direction of righting these wrongs is a simple one, and easy; but it is imperative that it be taken. The wage-workers must cut adrift from the old political parties controlled by non-producers, monopolists and idlers generally, and form a new party having in view their own interests. What are their interests? The right to work and to retain the result of their labor. This first step taken—the workers united in one harmonious and intelligent body—industrial reconstruction will be an easy task. There would be no sudden disarrangement of our industries. Rather the wrongs of present society arrangements would be gradually eliminated—as fast, in fact, as the people become Socialists.

Will Thorne Interviewed.

"You are looking well, Comrade Thorne. Why, you look as if you had considerably increased your weight. Your voyage to America seems to have agreed with you?"

"You are quite right in your assumption. It did agree with me. I am happy to say that I did not forego a single meal. I guess I have gained a stone and a half during my little journey. The passage was very rough, though, and my companion, Mr. Inskip, unfortunately, fared badly."

"When we arrived at our journey's end I was getting quite fidgety about him. However, after a three days rest, he so improved that I felt he only needed time to completely recover. Of course, his illness put him out a great deal, as he had arranged to address several meetings. Happily, I was able to help him out of that difficulty a little. He is all right now, I believe."

"I am glad to hear that Mr. Inskip is better. What do you think of the trade union movement of America?"

"Well, I was rather surprised to find that there were only about 10 per cent. of the workers organized, and to discover that the unions were not equal to our own here at home. Not even equal to what we should consider second-rate unions. I have nothing to grumble at in my reception, for I was everywhere listened to with attention. The Socialist resolution was lost by two to one. You will remember that our last trade union congress at Norwich the Socialist resolution was carried by two to one. That is something to the credit of the English trade unions, anyhow. I was pleased with the feeling exhibited by the trade unionists against the 'expansion' policy of America, about which we hear so much. All the speeches were against it, with the exception of one delegate's. He represented a typographical society. There is good material, however, in America for forming strong unions, and I have faith that the trade union movement is destined to grow to godly dimensions in the near future."

"I suppose Mr. Gompers was in high glee at the success of the congress? Did you discover in him any very abnormal conservative tendencies?"—"I can't say that I did. From what I could see, he was as advanced as the main body; in fact, I should say he was prepared to move a little in front of them."

"His position, then, is parallel with that of some of the leading trade unionists in this country?"

Comrade Thorne laughed at this observation, and gave a few nods of the head in assent.

"Do you consider the workers better off in America than here? In other words, is their standard of comfort better?"

"Well, that is a question I could not answer with a direct 'yes' or 'no.' From what I could see, the workers dress better; they appear much nattier and more stylish; 'better got up,' as we say here."

"Wages in many trades are much higher than here, and there is no question that a thrifty Yankee has the opportunity to save more than the English worker. It is with them, however, easy come and easy go. I am fully convinced that if the worker of America lives up to the standard dictated by ordinary customs and habits which generally obtain, that he has nothing to spare. In fact, I should say, he is liable to contract debts. Some things are very cheap, some are very dear. Clothes, for instance, still maintain high prices. The reason for this I did not ascertain. I had so many irons, as they say, in the fire, that I had to neglect some. As I happened to come across a tailor, and talking about overcoats, he asked me the price of the one I had on. I told him 'a couple of quid.' He seemed rather nonplussed, so I translated it into dollars. He replied that the price of a coat like that would be three pounds, at least; more probably three pounds, five shillings. Boots, on the other hand, I found very cheap. I was shown over some boot factories, and from what I could see, I thought the trade there very much in advance of what it is in England. I am told that they mean soon to make a serious attempt at knocking Northampton and Leicester goods out of the English market. I know that the boot manufacture in England has undergone a transformation during the last few years in England, and that they have adopted American machinery; but I was assured that the intensity of American labor was so great in that industry that there was every possibility of obtaining possession of the English market."—Justice.

"You are quite right in your assumption. It did agree with me. I am happy to say that I did not forego a single meal. I guess I have gained a stone and a half during my little journey. The passage was very rough, though, and my companion, Mr. Inskip, unfortunately, fared badly."

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Social Democratic Party Platform

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

S. D. P. AND TRADES UNIONISM.

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions; as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we command an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible;

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore indorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS,

—BY THE—

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

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EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER, FREDERIC HEATH.

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, MAR. 4, 1899.

EDITOR'S TIME SAVERS.

F. A. H.—From the beginning the policy has been to encourage criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party. The Herald is not an individual's but the party's organ, and the statement you quote grossly misrepresents both the party and the paper. Yes, the platform certainly is a proper subject for criticism and discussion by members of the party.

E. T. G.—such results as you desire are brought about only through events; let events take their course; our duty is to be prepared for them, so far as they can be foreseen.

If you send a package by express to a friend you pay one cent over and above the company's charge for the war stamp. That is, the corporation acts as collector of the war tax for the government, and the government furnishes the stamps and the corporation gets credit for paying the tax. And the prospect is that with a deficit of \$200,000,000 a year you will continue paying the tax while the capitalists scramble for franchises and the government at Washington is debauched and forced to create a great army to put you down if you whimper. And that's the kind of government some of you like. So does every enemy of the best interests of humanity.

* * * * *
The rapid economic development in this country is compelling a reconstruction of some of our most time-honored catch-phrases, made familiar year after year by spread-eagle stump speakers and well-fed, contented bourgeois members of the cloth. These fine fellows are becoming a little afraid of their old pets, like "competition is the life of trade" and various axioms like unto it. They are forced to side track some of their proudest boasts and to make admissions that would put more honest consciences in confusion to make. Our position in the Phillipines has exposed not a little of our insincerity, and even created a doubt in some unsophisticated minds as to the morality of that modern boast:

Our country may she always be right. But right or wrong, our country.

Just now there is a suspicious cry on all sides for more patriotism. It is very necessary, for patriotism means blind worship of government, and it is because of it that bad government is able to continue. The call for more patriotism comes of course from the exploiting class. Sad to say, it is a game that works well.

* * * * *
In Appleton, Wis., a working girls' club has been formed—not by the working girls themselves, but by some of the "leading" women of the town, who want to "teach the working girls how to make good wives for workingmen," as one of them expresses it. The girls are all employed in the extensive mills at Appleton, and "need a lot of training in sewing and cooking and other duties or else they will make it decidedly uncomfortable for the fellows whose wives they become, who work in the factories." Yet these "philanthropic" nuisances who are engineering this impudent affair would hold their hands up in horror if anyone were to tell them that this country was ceasing to be a land of the free. This is the country, you know, where the poorest boy may some day become president and where the classes are not fixed! When superficial women belonging to the fortunate class, train their less fortunate sisters for permanent fixtures in the working class, they give the lie to their pretensions about a free country, etc. As an actual fact they are doing the instinctive work of capitalism, the interests of which demand that the working classes shall live as contendedly as possible.

WAYFAER.

Packed Houses Greet Him.

Unprecedented Crowds Turn Out
to Hear Eugene V. Debs
on Socialism.

Comrade Eugene V. Debs is preaching Socialism to the people and they are responding by thousands every. At Erie, Pa., where he spoke for the third time on the 19th, the Grand Opera house was packed and hundreds were turned away. The following is from the Erie Dispatch of the 20th, captioned "Debs on Socialism."

"Anyone who knows the utmost capacity of the Park Opera House knows how many persons attended the lecture by Eugene V. Debs there Sunday evening. It was a political meeting, pure and simple, and it was significant that the audience was composed of voters, with a very slight alloy of women. * * *

"He held his hearers in rapt attention, being interrupted by frequent and spontaneous bursts of applause. It was a lecture on Socialism. The speaker pictured, in his powerful and convincing way, the evils of competition, and the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth toward which, he declared, the republic is surely tending. He said trusts are but a link in the chain of evolution which ends in Socialism—but preparing the industrial conditions, which will in the end be turned to the people's advantage. His exposition of the doctrines of Socialism made a deep impression on many of his hearers."

At Springfield, O., on the 20th occurred the greatest meeting of its kind ever held in that city of 40,000 inhabitants. The lecture was given under the auspices of the Trades and Labor Assembly. Fully two thousand crowded into the hall and almost half as many were turned away, every inch of standing room being occupied. Columns of reports appeared in the newspapers and nearly all had editorial comment. The lecture stirred the city from centre to circumference and next day was almost the sole topic of conversation.

The Sun began an extended editorial by saying: "Two thousand people of Springfield had their views changed in regard to Eugene V. Debs, Monday evening, and at least five hundred were prevented from having a like experience by being unable to get into the hall."

The Gazette said: "Mr. Eugene V. Debs certainly has reason to pride himself upon the audience which turned out to hear him last evening. City hall has not received such an outpouring since the presidential election; hardly then. It was simply packed to its limit and there were present, elbow to elbow with labor reformers and trades unionists, not a few professional men of prominence, business men and others including many ladies, not often found at meetings of this character and the rapt attention paid was certainly complimentary to the speaker. * * * * No event of the kind has created such interest as the Debs meeting."

The Democrat said in the introduction to its report: "Eugene V. Debs, the celebrated labor leader and advocate of Socialism, held an audience that filled the city hall to overflowing, spell bound for two hours last night. The audience was one of the largest ever seen in the building. The aisles were full of people who gladly stood throughout the entire address and people even stood in the doors eager to see and hear a man who has gained a national reputation. Debs is tall, slim, angular and even grotesque in appearance. In his gesticulations and manner of delivery he is not unlike James Whitcomb Riley. He talks earnestly, forcefully and at times quite rapidly. He is not anarchist in his utterances, but instead is plain, rational, logical and cool-headed. He talks not only interestingly but graphically. He is fluent, his word pictures are faultless, his epigrams plain and pointed and some even startling. He quoted frequently from writers of renown to illustrate a point and altogether made an address that will long be remembered as one of

the greatest ever heard in the city."

The Republic Times had a very able account which began as follows: "Eugene V. Debs addressed fully 2,000 people at the City hall last evening. Long before the opening hour the hall was packed to suffocation by a representative audience of Springfield's best citizens, fully 500 being obliged to content themselves with standing room only. There was a plentiful sprinkling of ladies throughout the audience anxious to hear the great labor leader discuss the social questions of the hour."

The same paper had a long editorial from which is clipped the following extract: "A man terribly in earnest and impressing one as having a mission, clean cut as to both figure and speech; a student of conditions with a marvelous ability to put facts together in an argument; a man from the common ranks and evidently intended by nature as a leader, but who was once early in life, compelled to beg for work from place to place; a man whom the country has already heard from, and no doubt, will again; a man evidently sincere and with a desire for the elevation of man and the amelioration of the hard social and industrial conditions of the day; an agitator who does not seem to be a rante, but practical, evidently honest, and willing to concede sincerity of opinion to others who may not agree with him; a polished speaker, and a man moved by deep convictions—all of this Eugene V. Debs impresses his hearers as being."

This work will be followed up by organization and soon there will spring up branches of the Social Democratic party to carry the Socialist flag to victory.

ton Record, a republican daily, speaks as follows:

"Republican Carey was the recipient of many condolences after the house adjourned yesterday. It will be recalled that his order for an investigation of the Marlboro strike was sat upon very hard early in the session, calling forth the vehement denunciation of several substantial members who were dumb as clams when Mr. Balcom presented his order calling for precisely the same thing, and based upon the petition of Marlboro citizens. The Balcom order went through with a celerity only equalled by that with which Carey's order was rejected. Carey's pessimism, however, only extends to the present order of things; when he talks about the millennium of Socialism booked for appearance in due time, he is an optimist of such hope as to put rainbows to blush. So he views the pronounced discrimination against him in favor of Mr. Balcom with serene and cordial indifference."

The members will recall the order we introduced providing for the collective ownership of the ice industry in the so-called metropolitan district. As we reported it was defeated but the city of Boston (a part of the district) has begun to apply the idea by taking ice for municipal purposes and the daily papers remark that "the Social Democratic representatives seem to get there just the same with their schemes." Evenings, Comrade Scates serves as an organizer, and Comrade Carey speaks nearly every night, under the auspices of various organizations, including trades unions.

It may be well to call the attention of the comrades to a statement made by Comrade Carey at the A. F. of L. Convention in Kansas City that "The election of the Social Democratic candidates in Haverhill gave the workers of that city new hope and courage." During the last month the shoemakers of Haverhill have won four strikes, all they engaged in. Many of the strikers were our boys, including some of our elected members of the City Council. The mayor and ourselves attended their meetings as we are shoemakers and fought for and with them.

Next week Com. Carey speaks in Marlboro under the auspices of the striking shoe workers; at Newton on invitation of some citizens; New Bedford on invitation of the C. L. U., and Quincy under the auspices of a men's league of a church at its annual dinner upon invitation of a member of this house.

Pres. McKinley, Secs. Alger, Gage, Long and all the members of the president's cabinet were present Friday at the house. They spoke. McKinley talked "on our glorious victory," Gage on "our glorious standard of money," Long on "our glorious navy," etc. We did not applaud, but democrats and republicans alike were enthusiastic in their applause. In all the house, Comrade Scates upon the extreme right Comrade Carey upon the extreme left (for we are thus separated), were silent. All around we heard clapping but we were still, for why should the future glorify the present with all its horrors and inequality.

Comrade Carey debated, last Sunday, with the leading individualist anarchist upon "collective ownership" before an audience of 1,000.

Fraternally
LOUIS M. SCATES,
JAMES F. CAREY.

Books Received.

"The Light of Reason," by A. B. Franklin, purports to be a solution of the economic riddle by "showing the first step the nation must take toward a social order based on justice." Is well worth reading for its suggestiveness and sincerity of purpose. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago; price 35 cents.

"The Outlook for the Artisan and His Art," by J. Pickering Putnam, is an admirable 10 cent pamphlet on the immense advantages of socialized industries, by a practical architect. Publishers, the same as above.

Send in brief reports of your Branch work every week, and mail it on Saturday.

AMONG THE BRANCHES.

Branch Meetings.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 50c per month.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Marin Steele, Secretary.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thos. Kirwin, Secretary.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis, J. G. Secretary.

Branch 2, (Mass.) Brockton, meets Sunday at 1 p. m. in Cutters Hall, Clark's block, corner Main and Centre streets. Every member is expected to attend at least one meeting. Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 29 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m. at 1945 Washington street, Boston. All communications and money's intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Hane, 1100 Roxbury st., Roxbury.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday in the month, at St. George's Hall, 886 Main street, cor. Church street, at 8 p. m. New Haven. Secretary, Cornelius Rooney, 165 Franklin street.

Wisconsin Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets the 1st Monday of the month at 8 p. m., at 618 East Water street. Eugene A. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfer, Treasurer.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets and on Thursday of each month at 209 Broadway. A. Guyer, 23 Clinton street, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New York (Eighth Assembly District) meets every Tuesday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Room 5—Louis A. Pawley, 537 E. 12th st., Secretary.

Branch 3, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 334 E. 5th st. L. F. Focke, 239 E. 10th st., Sec.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y., Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 222 Hewes street, meets 1st and 3d Thursdays at 8 p. m. sharp. All persons interested in socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 222 Hewes st., Secretary.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, International Bank Building, 29 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 200 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Sanderson, 1225 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (1st Mo.) meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., at 1223 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. F. Haussler, 1227 N. Broadway.

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2nd Mo.) every 1st Saturday at 2 p. m., and every 3rd Sunday at 9:30 a. m. at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Main avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langhans, 210 Lynch street.

St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Concordia Turner Hall, 13th and Arsenal streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3004 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m. at Vitt's Hall, Broadway and Kekokuk st. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 3324 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 600 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenfeld, 85 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 13th and Main streets. Organizer, H. J. Steigerwald, 12 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1330 Union ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Twenty-sixth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 88 St. Ferdinand Avenue. Organizer, Joseph O. Hartshorn, 2350 St. Ferdinand ave.

Branch No. 20, New York, (28th Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursdays of each month at Franklin's Hall, 151 Second Avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. L. Kapp, 325 E. 8th street.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in their Hall, 65 York streets, second and third Sundays, at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Sunday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m., Funk hall, with 20th and Josephine st. President, W. John 21st Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 215 Jane st.

Branch No. 1, Wisconsin, meets Ethical Building every second and fourth Wednesday of the month. Everybody is welcome.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday, in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 778 Twenty-third street.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Sunday at 7:30 south Third Street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion Room at 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of the month at Volk's Hall, corner Twenty-first and Cesar streets, at 8 p. m. Edward Koepfer, Secretary.

Wisconsin Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Monday at 8 p. m. sharp at 600 State street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerfer, Treasurer.

A new branch has been organized in the fourth assembly district in New York City with splendid material and the branch promises to be one of the best in the city. Nicholas Rosenauer, 331 Madison st. was elected financial and recording secretary. I. Katz, financial secretary, M. Levin and N. Rosenauer, agitation committee.

All Socialists desirous of joining the 4th assembly district should communicate with the secretary.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

Forward, New York City	\$ 25.00
J. L. Montgomery	10
D. S. Thomae	10
Timin, O. (no name)	10
H. Millholland	10
St. Louis, Mo. (no name)	10
Manchester, N. H. (no name)	10
Anton Felsberg	20
W. E. Sanderson	10
W. L. Hamilton	100
J. Lavender	10
Wm. Manzke	10
Swift Water S. H. (no name)	10
Branch 6, Indianapolis Ind.	5.00
J. P. Merkl	10
Chas F. Merkl	10
W. E. Root	10
No name	10
Previously reported	27.25
Total	50.80

German speaking comrades at Baltimore have organized a fine branch and will take active part in the spring campaign.

* * *

Brooklyn, Mass., is forging to the front in a very gratifying manner. At the last meeting 25 new comrades were enrolled and more are to follow.

* * *

New branch organized at Pittsburgh, Pa., with Comrades W. Bolin, J. H. Lewis and A. Leonhard as members of the executive board.

* * *

St. Louis adds another branch to the list this week. The branch was organized in the 26th ward by Comrade Anna Ferry Smith and promises to be one of the strong branches of the city.

* * *

A new branch organized in the Fourth Assembly District, New York City, is composed of thorough-going Socialists whose enthusiasm and energy will build up one of the strongest organizations in the metropolis.

* * *

Exeter, N. H., has fallen into line with 25 charter members and indications point to a very strong branch. Socialism is being discussed in that city as never before. Comrades Chase and Tebbets addressed an audience of more than 400 persons, at which an admission fee was charged to defray expenses.

* * *

On Sunday Feb. 19, Branch 6, Indianapolis, held the largest meeting since its organization. Six new members were admitted and a number of applications acted upon. This branch is in fine condition. Its members are alive and active and fully realize the importance of close organization. Keep your eye on Indianapolis for they are pressing to the front rank.

* * *

At a meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis last Sunday, Carpenters' Union No. 73 presented the matter of the nomination of a ticket for the school board at the coming election, but it was decided to be inadvisable to take such action, especially in view of the fact that a ticket has already been placed in the field by the Social Democrats.

* * *

Branch 4, Wisconsin, at Milwaukee, is conducting very successful monthly agitation meetings at Mueller's hall, cor. 23 and Brown st. Such topics as pensioning police and firemen and the civil service law have been discussed. Friday evening, March 3, Carl Malewski gave an interesting lecture on Ferdinand La Salle. A general invitation is extended to these meetings.

* * *

St. Louis Notes.

The 1st Ward Branch met Feb. 22, and two of its members turned in \$5.25 on their campaign subscription lists; it also paid in full for all cards and stamps received. It enrolled one new recruit, and now has 20 members.

The 3d Ward Branch on Feb. 24 did not hold their regular meeting but discussed social and financial matters. Comrade Wibel reported the recommendation of the C. C. C. that members refrain from

making unpleasant remarks concerning S. L. P.

The 9th Ward Branch has arranged a mass meeting at Haldermann's hall, 7th and Arsenal sts., Sunday, March 5th at 2 p. m. Everybody is invited. The principles of Socialism will be explained by Comrades J. L. Frauz, Anna F. Smith, E. Val. Putnam, John Mueller and others. There will be both English and German speeches.

The 10th Ward Branch met Feb. 26th with a fair attendance. The work of getting signers for the certificates of nomination and funds for the campaign is progressing very satisfactorily. Members turned in \$9.70 for the campaign fund.

The 12th Ward Branch met Feb. 19th with Comrade John C. Lyons chairman of the meeting. Comrade Frank Ujka was enrolled as a member and Comrades John Haase and Richard Scholl were admitted by transfer from 9th Ward Branch. The motion was carried that members be admitted from any ward not yet organized the question of admitting members by transfer from other branches was referred to the C. C. C. A voluntary contribution of \$1.30 was made by the members to the campaign fund, and payment on account for cards and stamps was authorized. Comrade John C. Lyons was nominated for the House of Delegates from the 12th ward, and Comrade Frank Ujka was recommended for nomination by the C. C. C. for the House of Delegates from the unorganized 13th ward. By request of this branch the C. C. C. has called a mass meeting under the immediate auspices of the branch at the Bohemian National hall, Allen avenue and Dolman st., Sunday March 5th, 1899, at 2 p. m. Speeches will be in English, German and Bohemian. The 12th ward meets on the 1st Sunday of the month at 6:30 a. m. at Bohemian National Hall.

ALBERT E. SANDERSON, Secretary City Central Committee.

Badger State News.

At a well attended and enthusiastic meeting of the Wisconsin Central Committee last Monday, the plan of putting a state organizer in the field was further discussed and plans were made for the raising of the necessary funds. A committee was appointed to correspond with persons suited to such work, and another to grapple with the ways and means problem. Comrades Seidel, Siegel and others brought up the subject of agitation fund stamps and a long discussion followed, the plan being favorably looked upon. This system originated in Germany where our comrades were forbidden by law to make collections for their party.

They got around the difficulty by issuing sheets of stamps of small denomination, which were sold to those wishing to help the party. The stamps served principally as receipts for the money paid for them and were usually torn up by the purchaser or kept as souvenirs. While there is no law in this country against contributions, it was the general consensus of opinion at the meeting that quite a little money could be raised by the plan and a committee was empowered to get out a first issue of them.

Comrade Berger has just begun the publication of a German translation of *Merrie England* in his paper *Die Wahrheit*, printing a letter each week. It is his intention to publish the complete translation in book form later on, if he can get orders enough to warrant the undertaking. There has long been a demand for such a work and it is to be hoped that his labor will not be in vain. His work is more than a mere translation, for he bases the figures and references on conditions in Germany and this country rather than upon those in England. This will make it much more interesting to German readers.

Comrade Edward Ziegler of Branch 1 is being congratulated on the publication of articles from his pen in Kautsky's *Neue Zeit*, the great Socialistic periodical of the German Social Democracy. Comrade Ziegler is financial secretary of the Milwaukee Central Committee. He is a close student of Marx and other economic writers and one of our most tireless workers. He

OUR NEW YORK LETTER.

The masquerade ball given in Grand Central Palace on Saturday night last for the benefit of The Vorwaerts, the Jewish daily paper published by the Jewish comrades in New York, was more than a success, it was a triumph. During the week the great blizzard had almost paralyzed things in New York and when Saturday came, accompanied by a steady downfall of rain that lasted all day, gloomy indeed was the outlook and the hearts of all interested were full of disappointment and misgiving.

The 12th Ward Branch met Feb. 19th with Comrade John C. Lyons chairman of the meeting. Comrade Frank Ujka was enrolled as a member and Comrades John Haase and Richard Scholl were admitted by transfer from 9th Ward Branch. The motion was carried that members be admitted from any ward not yet organized the question of admitting members by transfer from other branches was referred to the C. C. C. A voluntary contribution of \$1.30 was made by the members to the campaign fund, and payment on account for cards and stamps was authorized. Comrade John C. Lyons was nominated for the House of Delegates from the 12th ward, and Comrade Frank Ujka was recommended for nomination by the C. C. C. for the House of Delegates from the unorganized 13th ward. By request of this branch the C. C. C. has called a mass meeting under the immediate auspices of the branch at the Bohemian National hall, Allen avenue and Dolman st., Sunday March 5th, 1899, at 2 p. m. Speeches will be in English, German and Bohemian. The 12th ward meets on the 1st Sunday of the month at 6:30 a. m. at Bohemian National Hall.

Space will not permit me going into details on this matter. It would require a special edition of *THE HERALD* to do the subject justice. Suffice it to say the music, the dancing, the costumes and the personnel of the gathering left nothing more to be desired. And through and above all breathed and hovered that indelible feeling of kinship which animates all Socialist festivals and which is part and parcel of the great international movement.

For the Jewish comrades had not a monopoly of the gaiety. It was shared by representatives of many different nationalities from the dark haired Russian to an un-sophisticated greenhorn from Tennessee.

It was a great occasion and a remarkable manifestation, all things considered, of the esteem and love the Social Democrats of New York bear toward the Vorwaerts and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the German organ of the S. D. P. in Greater New York and which also reaped some benefit from the affair. The persons who in their egotism seek to lay the flatteringunction to their souls that the Social Democratic Party is either dead or sleeping in New York build their hopes on shifting sand. Saturday night's affair showed that we are very much alive and that the party is a living, growing force which must soon be reckoned with, whatever else may be desired by others to the contrary.

Beginning on Sunday next a series of lectures will be given weekly in Crystal hall, 352 W. 35th st., between 8th and 9th avenues, by the West Side branch under the auspices of the S. D. P. in Greater New York. The program for the first four lectures is as follows: Feb. 26th "Poverty," Mr. Albert L. Vogel, of London, England. March 5th, "Overproduction and Underconsumption," Prof. I. A. Honrich; March 19th, "The Idealization of the Workingman," Mr. Abraham Cahan. Lectures will begin promptly at 8 p. m. to be followed by questions and free discussion. Readers of this paper, their friends and sympathizers are cordially invited to attend. Admission free.

Mr. J. R. McDonald, of London, journalist and lecturer and one of the most prominent members of the Independent Labor party of England, is paying a three weeks' visit to this country. During the past week he has addressed several organizations in this city, among them being the Society of Ethical Culture in Carnegie hall on Sunday morning last, and the People's Institute in Cooper Union last night. The subject at the latter place was Industrial England and he was greeted by a very large and enthusiastic audience. Mr. McDonald is an able and eloquent lecturer. Next Sunday morning he lectures again before the Society of Ethical Culture on Imperialism and Democracy. In a brief conversation he expressed himself as in sympathy with the Social Democratic Party of America and regretted that pre-

vious engagements would prevent him from lecturing for us while in the city.

The comrades in the Fourth Assembly District, after many attempts, have succeeded in forming a very creditable organization and have applied for a charter to the National Executive Committee.

Now that the City Central Agitation Committee is organized it is hoped that the delegates from the various branches will attend the meetings regularly and work earnestly to push the work of agitation in New York. There were many difficulties to be overcome and it will take every honest effort to get the party in the proper shape to win success.

The meetings of the Central Federated Union are interesting these days. Next Sunday the new constitution will be up for discussion and as the preamble and platform are identical with those of the Cleveland, O., Central Labor Union, and therefore of true Socialist tone and timber the outcome will be awaited by Socialists with bated breath, as to speak.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES.

NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at _____, County of _____, shall be known as Local Branch No. _____ of _____ of the Social Democratic Party of America, and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred members, _____ members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

Sec. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

Sec. 6. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local branch may determine, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 14. Any member of the board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March, the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

JURISDICTION.

Sec. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine, provided they do not conflict with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

TRIALS.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch, provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing by a member in good standing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the state, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

AMENDMENTS.

Sec. 23. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of five per cent. of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum, and a majority vote shall determine the result.

Can You Help?

PORT ANGELES, WASH., DEC. 7, 1898. At a meeting held by the Socialists of this city, one of the sisters offered the following:

"Resolved, That as we wish to socialize the State of Washington, and as our worthy brother, E. E. Vail, has been sacrificing himself for the past three years to keep his little Socialist Daily News going without a press, (except a proof press), that we appeal to the Socialists throughout the United States to contribute something to get him a press, if it was only five cents each, as with a press we could do an immense amount of good here in the State."

The resolution was adopted unanimously and a fund was started by each member contributing his or her mite.

We request all papers favorable to Socialism to give this appeal space, and furthermore we will send copies of the paper to all those sending their mite.

Send all remittances to our county central committee secretary, Herman Culver. DAVID O'BRIEN, Chairman Co. Cen. Com. HERMAN CULVER, Secretary. Port Angeles, Clallam Co., Wash.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

In his work on the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Frederick Engels sums up the course of the class struggle, its several successive stages and the significance of each in the development of production in the following clear manner:

1. MEDIEVAL SOCIETY.—Small individual production. Means of production adapted to individual use; thence primitively inefficient and paltry, and dwarfish in their results. Production for the immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only there, where an excess of production over consumption takes place, is that excess offered for sale and falls into exchange. The production of "commodity" is in its incipiency; but already it contains in embryo THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE.

II. CAPITALIST REVOLUTION.—Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production—a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The CAPITALIST makes his appearance. In his capacity of owner of the means of production, he appropriates the products also, and turns them into "commodities." Production has become a social act. Exchange, and, together with it, appropriation remain individual acts, acts of the individual. THE SOCIAL PRODUCTS ARE APPROPRIATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST. This is the fundamental contradiction from which arise all the contradictions in which present society moves and which production in gross brings to light:

A.—Severance of the producers from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to life-long wage-labor. CONTRAST BETWEEN PROLETARIAT AND CAPITALIST CLASS.

B.—Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws that govern the production of commodities. Unbridled competitive struggle. Contradiction between social organization in the separate factories, and social anarchy in production at large.

C.—On the one hand, perfection of machinery made by competition compulsory upon every individual manufacturer, and equivalent with ever increasing displacement of labor—the industrial RESERVE ARMY. On the other hand, boundless expansion and production, equally a compulsory law of competition to every manufacturer. On both hands unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, decennial crises, the vicious circle: here, a superabundance of products and means of production; yonder, a superabundance of workingmen without employment and without means of existence. But these two forces of production and social well-being cannot combine because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive powers from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents from being done. The contradiction has become an absurdity: THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE.

The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

D.—Partial recognition of the social character of the powers of production forced upon the capitalists themselves. Appropriation of the large organism of production and communication and transportation, first by STOCK COMPANIES, next by the STATE. The capitalist class shows itself to be superfluous; all its social functions are performed by hired employees.

III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletarian seizes the public power, and, with its aid, turns the power

of production, that have been slipping from the hands of the capitalist class, into public property. By this act it frees the means of production from their previous capitalist quality, and gives their social character full freedom to assert itself. Thenceforth, social production upon a pre-determined plan becomes possible. The development of production makes the continuance of several social classes an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in the production of society disappears, the political authority of the state becomes dormant. Man, finally master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time lord over nature—lord over himself—in short, free. To accomplish this work of universal emancipation is the historic mission of the modern proletariat. To investigate its historic conditions, thereby its nature itself, and thus to impart a consciousness of its own motion to that class that, oppressed to-day, is called upon to do the act—that is the task of the theoretic expression of the movement of the proletariat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Many persons whose sympathies are with the cause of Socialism are heard to say that while they believe in it, it will never win. This is said without a knowledge of its growing power in the world. Below will be found the Socialist vote in those countries where the people have the elective franchise. A study of these figures should put faith and courage into all who believe in Socialism but say "it cannot win." The fact is that it is winning, its development is truly remarkable. Outside the countries named the movement is growing in like proportions.

AUSTRIA.

1895..... 90,000

1897..... 750,000

BELGIUM.

1894..... 334,500

1898..... 534,324

DENMARK.

1872..... 315

1884..... 6,805

1887..... 8,408

1890..... 17,232

1892..... 20,098

1895..... 25,019

FRANCE.

1885..... 30,000

1888..... 91,000

1893..... 590,000

1898..... 1,000,000

GERMANY.

1867..... 30,000

1871..... 101,927

1874..... 351,670

1877..... 486,843

1878..... 437,158

1881..... 311,961

1884..... 539,990

1887..... 763,128

1890..... 1,427,298

1893..... 1,786,738

1898..... 2,125,000

GREAT BRITAIN.

1895..... 55,000

ITALY.

1893..... 26,000

1895..... 76,400

1897..... 134,496

SERVIA.

1895..... 50,000

SPAIN.

1893..... 7,000

1895..... 14,800

1897..... 28,000

SWITZERLAND.

1890..... 13,500

1893..... 29,822

1896..... 36,468

UNITED STATES.

1890..... 13,704

1891..... 16,552

1892..... 21,512

1893..... 25,666

1894..... 30,020

1895..... 34,869

1896..... 36,275

1897..... 55,550

1898..... 91,749

News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.

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Instructions by Mail

Social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the Executive Board may decide upon.

BOW ORGANIZED.

Section 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

2d. State Unions before state convention of 1900 shall be composed of one representative from each local branch; provided that branches having more than twenty-five members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional twenty-five members or major part thereof, after which each state shall provide its own method of organization.

3d. A National Council composed of one representative from each state and territory; provided that states having more than 500 members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional 500 members or major part thereof.

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall be elected quadrennially by the National Council; having general supervision of the organization and be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Section 4. A National Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the national organ (and such other officers as may be required) shall be elected every four years, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Committee to be approved by the direct vote of the members through the referendum.

Section 5. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each year, and such special meetings as may be required.

Section 6. A majority of the board shall constitute a quorum.

Section 7. Any member of the board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members of the organization as hereinafter provided.

Section 8. Any member of the board, or national officer may be removed at any time by the National Council as hereinafter provided.

Section 9. No member shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Section 10. All questions not provided for in this constitution and all questions of appeal shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the board.

Section 11. At each annual meeting the officers of the board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Section 12. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents and dues of twenty-five cents, payable quarterly in advance for each member.

Section 13. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Section 14. The National Council shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine, subject to change by referendum vote. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations.

Section 15. The National Council shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to enact all general legislation, subject to referendum hereinafter provided. It shall determine the policy, and do all other things required to carry out the general objects of the organization.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Section 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the Executive Board, which shall be known as the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Section 17. The columns of the official organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

Section 18. The national conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially on the first Tuesday in May, at such place as may be determined by the National Council.

REFERENDUM.

Section 19. The members of the Executive Board may be removed by the imperative mandate in the following manner: Any three members of the National Council may demand the resignation of any member of the National Executive Board, by filing a petition with the secretary of said Executive Committee; and upon said secretary's neglect or refusal to act upon said petition within five days after filing the same, then by filing a petition with the chairman of the said Executive Board; and upon the said chairman's neglect or refusal to act, by filing such petition with three members of the National Council, other than the petitioners, who shall act as a committee for the purpose of receiving and acting as herein provided. Such petition shall contain a statement in writing setting forth fully and at large the grounds upon which the recall is demanded. Such officers or committee with whom such petition is filed shall forthwith deliver a copy thereof to the person whose recall is demanded, if such person can be found; and said person shall have the right to answer such petition in writing, which said answer shall be mailed by registered letter to the officer or committee holding said petition within fifteen (15) days from the receipt by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be delivered to him.

The petitioners shall be served forthwith by registered letter from the officer or committee holding the petition with a copy of said answer, and such petitioners shall have the right to file, with such officer or committee, a replication to such answer within ten (10) days after receipt of such copy.

Thereupon the said officer or committee holding said petition shall mail a complete copy of the proceedings to the person whose recall is sought, and five (5) days thereafter said officer or committee shall mail to each member of the National Council a complete copy of all the proceedings and shall demand a vote of each member of the National Council thereon.

All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times.

The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication.

Recall of a member of the Executive Committee shall not affect the standing of such member as a member of the National Council.

RECALL OF OFFICERS.

Section 20. The selection of the National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or rejection in the official organ, the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, within fifteen days from the selection of said officers, and each member

shall have a vote thereon to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be announced in the official paper and the polls shall close 20 days after the date calling for the referendum.

Section 21. The National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed or discharged by the National Council or the Executive Board, but if the said national officers shall be so removed or discharged, they may appeal the case to the members of the organization by stating the grounds of protest, serving a copy on the chairman and secretary of the National Council and the Executive Board, the same not to occupy more than two columns of the official paper, an equal space to be given the Council or Executive to state their side of the controversy; the votes shall be mailed to any member of the Council or Executive Board the petitioner may designate; the petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots, and the polls shall close 20 days after the date of the publication of the referendum.

Section 22. The question shall be: "Shall the action of the Executive Board (or the National Council as the case may be) be sustained?" and if the vote of the members does not confirm the action, the petitioner shall then be reinstated.

Section 23. The National Executive Board (or any member of it), the National Secretary-Treasurer, or the Editor may be removed by the members of the organization in the following manner: A petition endorsed by five per cent. of the members shall be filed with the chairman of the Executive Board, who shall cause the same to be submitted to a referendum vote within 10 days; should said chairman fail to do this, then any five branches, by official action at a regular meeting, shall have power to call for said vote and the same, after due hearing of both sides as provided in section 21, shall be taken.

CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNIONS.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the _____ State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located as the union may determine.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Section 2. The _____ State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America shall consist of delegates representing local branches in this state, and shall constitute the legislative body of the state.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall consist of five members and shall have general supervision of the State Union. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

Section 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and for their services shall receive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The Board shall hold stated meetings in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Section 5. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Section 6. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The Board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies.

Section 7. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the State Union.

Section 8. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Section 9. All questions not provided for in the constitution, and all questions of appeal from local branches, shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Section 10. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES.

Section 11. The revenues of the organization shall be derived from such sources as the State Union may determine.

THE STATE UNION.

Section 12. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April. The chairman of the Executive

Board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

Section 13. At each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected, who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Section 14. The State Union shall enact such laws as may be necessary, determine the policy of the state organizations and do all other things required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action is taken inconsistent with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

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WORLD OF LABOR.

INTERNATIONAL.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

Referring to the next International Labor Congress to be held in Paris in 1900 "Justice," the official organ of the Social Democratic Federation, says editorially: "Such an International Congress, we may be sure, has never been held before. In the last four years the progress of the cause all over Europe, as well as in America and Australia, not to speak of Japan, has been far more rapid than during any equal period in the history of the movement. It is a glorious opportunity, and Paris is a glorious center to meet at. We have every reason to believe that Great Britain will be adequately represented by a host of delegates from an organized and disciplined Socialist party. The vote of 750,000 to 410,000 at the last Trade Union Congress in favor of the complete socialization of the means and instruments of production alone shows what rapid strides our propaganda is making in these islands, especially among the skilled artisans."

DRESDEN, GERMANY.

The Socialist and trades union organizations throughout Germany are indignant at the recent verdict of the court of justice in this city. Some weeks ago a number of union carpenters and masons got into a controversy with a number of their colleagues who violated the nine-hour workday by working overtime. In the attempt to prevent the men from violating the union rule the union men came into contact with a contractor who abused them calling them thieves and burglars. The contractor was somewhat severely handled, but not dangerously. The union men were arrested, indicted, and the wise Salomon of capitalism sentenced the union men as follows: Ernst Swahr, mason, ten years imprisonment; Fred. Schneider, nine years; Karl Moritz, carpenter, eight years; John Giedtch, carpenter, seven years; Fred Leiber, six years; Carl Pfeifer, six years; E. Geissler, four years; M. Hecht, four years, making a total of 53 years and eight months. The Social Democratic Party of Germany has issued a protest against this latest act of class justice and appeals to the workmen to make immediate arrangements for the support of the poor families deprived of their husbands, fathers, sons and brothers. All contributions are to be sent to A. Gerish, No. 9 Katzbach st., Berlin, S. W., Germany. Gerish is the treasurer of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

PARIS, FRANCE.

The joint committee of French Socialists appointed a committee composed of a member from each of the organizations affiliated to issue an invitation to the Socialist parties of all countries for the International Socialist Congress at Paris in 1900. It is stated that the circular lays down that the basis of admission to the congress shall be an agreement with the following points in the Socialist program: The socialization of the means of production and exchange; an international understanding between the workers of all countries, and the possession of political power by the workers organized as a class-conscious party. The committee is composed of Jaurès, P. Morel Farjat, A. Richard and L. Dubreuilh.

MADRID, SPAIN.

The Social Democratic movement is growing splendidly. New Socialist groups and trades and labor unions are organized everywhere. Comrade Pablo Iglesias delivered a rousing speech in a public meeting called by the Madrid Central Labor Union, his subject being: "The late War and the Mission of the Spanish Wage Workers." He advised the workmen to organize into trades unions and join hands with the International Social Democracy. The Madrid Central Labor Union (Centro de Sociedades Obreras) represents over 5000 trades unionists.

BUCHAREST, ROUMANIA.

The agitation which has broken out among the peasantry of Southern Roumania, so far extends over the country between the Danube and Olt rivers, threatening to spread over the whole kingdom. At the elections last autumn the liberals defeated the conservatives only with the help of the Socialists. As a consequence, the present liberal administration finds it necessary to connive at the agitation of Socialists, who, availing themselves of the opportunity afforded, are organizing rapidly. Within a few months seventy Socialist clubs have been formed.

PALERMO, ITALY.

Under the head "The bread of the Sicilian poor," the Giornale di Sicilia, of Palermo, makes startling revelations as to the quality of the bread, which is almost their only food, furnished to the laborers on the landed estates of the island. Some loaves have been procured by the journal, which pronounces them to be black to foulness, fetid, horrible, and such as even beasts would reject."

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK.

The united manufacturers are threatening to inaugurate a general lockout that would involve at least 40,000 wage workers. The Socialists and trades unionists are determined to make a strong fight if the capitalists' plan should be carried out.—Over 1000 women employed in the manufacture of clothing are on strike in this city.

WEST HAM, ENGLAND.

The Socialists and Trades Unionists of West Ham are making propaganda for William Thorne as a candidate for parliament. If nominated Comrade Thorne would surely be elected, for he is the favorite of the West Ham wage workers and Socialists.

ZURICH, SWITZERLAND.

The Volksrecht, the daily Socialist paper of this city, publishes the municipal program of our Social Democratic party in Haverhill, Mass., and makes very favorable reference to the inaugural address of Comrade Mayor Chase.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

The annual congress of the Belgian Socialist party will be held at Easter in the hall of the Co-operative Society "Le Proletaire," at Louvain.—About 2,000 quarry men have been on strike for the last few weeks at Ecaussinnes.

BRESLAU, GERMANY.

The Upper Silesia "Association for the help of Christian Workmen," have petitioned the Reichstag for the general introduction of an eight hour working day. The association numbers 16,000.

THE ROSTRUM.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE ONE.)

that it requires the co-operation of hundreds of thousands and even society itself, to create by means of them the necessities of our daily life.

"In those early days society had no concern as to the manner and use of those simple implements, because they were individual tools, capable of being produced by the individual, and of being operated by the individual, without the assistance of any member of society. But times have changed. The spinning wheel and hand-loom have developed into the modern factory and mill, filled with wonderful machines possessed of almost human ingenuity; the shoemaker's awl and wax-end have been changed into shoe factories in which thousands labor to turn out the product; the old crude cart has become the express train; all transformed in character by the genius of the race, into tools that require the collective labor of society in order to operate them.

From individual operation of individual tools we have come to the social operation of social tools; and I claim in face of this fact that these social tools should be owned and operated collectively for the collective good. They are the product of the genius of society, and it is absurd, upon the face of it, that any individual should be allowed to say of them 'these are mine.'

The modern means of production are a social conception. No individual could form an original

conception of any of them, from start to finish, as they stand to-day. Take an ocean steamship: It is a social conception, to which all ages and all lands have contributed their quota. Where was the beginning of the ocean steamship? We will have to go far back into the ages to find it, back to the first savage who, desiring to get to the other side of the stream, propelled himself across it upon the floating trunk of a tree. Many attempts may have been made, and many savage lives may have been lost before one succeeded in reaching the other side in safety, and thus established the fact that it could be done. Generations may have passed before another savage more ingenious than the rest hollowed out the tree trunk sufficiently to carry in it to the other side his stone axe and his weapons; and generations more before another one enlarged the hollow, got into it himself, and had a dug-out. Ages again elapsed perhaps before it occurred to another that the wind could be utilized to aid him in propelling his craft, and the sail boat was evolved. Meantime in some other clime perhaps, another savage had discovered the use of fire; and ages and ages afterwards some one else discovered that the steam arising from the contact of fire with water can be controlled and utilized as a motive power, and, after countless experiments in different directions, some other man applies it as a motive power to the sailing vessel, and the first rude steamboat is built, the prototype of the present magnificent ocean steamship. And all of these people in widely separated ages and climes were necessary to its conception.

"But even if it were capable of individual conception, it is incapable of construction by an individual. Where is the individual who will cut down the forest trees and convert them into timber, who will dig up the ore and smelt it and refine it, and manufacture it into bolts and bars and plates of iron and steel; and will mine the coal and transport it to feed the furnace and drive the engine which propels the steamship? It requires all society to construct a steamship, or a railroad, a factory or a mill.

"Nor can any individual preserve them in existence after they have been constructed. Before his very eyes the walls will crumble into nothingness and the machinery will rust and decay, because he is not capable of making the repairs that are necessary to preserve them in existence. It requires the collective effort of all society for their preservation.

"Nor can they be operated by any individual. How absurd then, to permit any man to say of the socially-conceived, socially-constructed, socially-preserved and socially-operated steamship, or railway or mill or factory 'This is mine!' Capital is inherently, naturally and philosophically the property of society, and the sooner society takes possession of it and operates it for its own benefit the sooner will it come into possession of what justly belongs to it."

There is much more of it which I have the will but not the time to write out for you at present, but you shall have it in pamphlet form before long.

MARGARET HAILE.

Organization.

The development of Capitalism has made the nation rotten ripe for the organization of a great Socialist party. Do we want to see the S. D. P. become the great Socialist party of America? Well, if we do, we will at once stop throwing away valuable time over the details of a constitution and by-laws, and get down to solid work.

Every member of the S. D. P. can afford to give 10 cents a month to our national organization. Do that and you will be living under a Socialist republic before fifteen years. Comrades let us follow the advice of Comrade Stedman, make our constitution at the next convention. For the present let us organize and build up a Socialist Democratic Party, that we may be as proud of as we are of the Socialist Democratic Party of Europe. Now is the time to act.

F. G. R. GORDON.

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